

CONFIDENTIAL

27 March 1951

MEMORANDUM TO: Chief, Foreign Division

25X1

FROM: Assistant to the Director

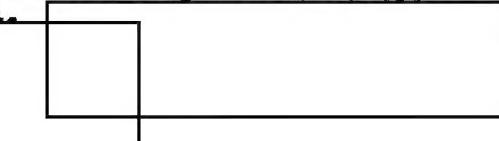
SUBJECT: Special Survey Committee - Colonial Williamsburg

1. Attached is the report prepared by Mr. Kershaw Burbank for John D. Rockefeller, III. It is my understanding that the report is to be used in connection with plans which Mr. Rockefeller has for changing the objective or purpose of Colonial Williamsburg. Williamsburg now receives a very large number of visitors annually. At present it is organized, the emphasis is placed on a sort of adulation of the way of life in colonial Virginia during a specific period of its history. Mr. Rockefeller apparently feels that the institution might serve a more useful purpose if the stress were shifted toward portraying the democratic way of life which contributed to America's growth. The attached survey is a part of the general study in progress to accomplish this end.

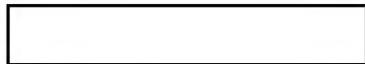
2. Mr. Burbank would be grateful if our experts on Soviet Communism would comment on his report.

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Attachment:
Williamsburg Survey Report

HJM:rgo

Distribution:

2-cc: Signer
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CONFIDENTIAL*Reading*

SECRET

17-6358A

MEMORANDUM

1 May 1961

25X1 TO: [REDACTED] Assistant to the Director
FROM: Chief, International Communism Branch, Staff C *met*
SUBJECT: Williamsburg Survey Report
REFERENCE: DCE-1739; ERI-6854

1. Upon request of the Chief, FDS, the report by Mr. Kershaw Burbank on "Some Basic Concepts of Stalinist Communism" has been reviewed.

2. Part A of the report (Basic Concepts) contains a useful restatement of some of the concepts underlying Soviet/Communist ideology. However, this analysis does not progress in depth beyond the findings of such authors as Carew-Hunt ("Theory and Practice of Communism"), Leites ("The Operational Code of the Politburo"), A. Rossi ("Physiologie du Parti Communiste Français"), and others.

3. Part B (The Appeal of Communism) is well formulated. However, this section could have been made more impressive and useful if the author had investigated and classified not only the various types of positive appeals emanating from Communism and Communist Parties but also the negative, repellent effects of the latter. As it is, Part B does not take into account, e.g., the considerable problem of membership fluctuations (in Parties outside the Soviet and Satellite orbit); the problem of dissidents and factionalism; the problem of conflicting appeals (nationalism vs. Stalinism); the problem of defectors, etc. In other words, while we agree with the author's general analysis of positive appeals, we feel that a fuller understanding of the psychological effects of Communist ideology could have been obtained through a study of factors which lead to individual or group rejection of Communism.

4. Part A of Part B (Some Notes on Key Points) is an excellent statement on the ideological conflict between Communism and Democracy.

5. We should certainly like to see other studies by Mr. Burbank on Communism, and should like to submit to him the suggestion that a thorough study of the concept of "Democracy" as formulated (and distorted) by Communist/Soviet theory and practice might yield useful results, particularly in view of the envisaged scope of the project "Colonial Williamsburg."

6. The copy of Mr. Burbank's report is attached.

Attachment: Williamsburg Survey Report

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A. SOME BASIC CONCEPTS OF STALINIST COMMUNISM

In any review of the basic concepts of communism, it is desirable to keep in mind the two "stages" of communism which, at least in theory, dictate the application of these concepts. The first stage represents the dictatorship of the proletariat, which must be retained until "capitalist encirclement" has been eliminated; the USSR and all other communist states are today in this phase. The second stage might be called the "ideal"; it can come about only when full communism has been attained and when all danger of capitalist encirclement has been removed. The classless society of this Marxist Elysium, in which the State becomes unnecessary and "withers away," is still part of Marxist doctrine and dogma.

The basic concepts are therefore divided into two categories: (1) What is practiced today; (2) What is promised for tomorrow. Many, of course, are inter-related or coincide.

Quotations from Marxist sources were of interest to us chiefly because of the lexicon and verbal logistics used by Soviet leaders in describing objectives. We recognize the fallibility of such material - in which, for example, Stalin at one moment is found to embrace egalitarianism and soon afterwards is discovered violently denouncing this concept as "petty bourgeoisie nonsense."

1. Some Basic Concepts and Policies of Stalinist Communism During the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

a. Dialectical materialism

The "official" philosophy of the Communist Party is dialectical materialism. This holds that the material life of society is the only true basis upon which to build a way of life and that all social ideas, social theories and political phases and political institutions are only a reflection of material conditions. The dialectical approach to this materialistic philosophy maintains that nature is in a constant state of flux, of radical change in which the stronger supplants the weaker. Therefore, the "weakness" of capitalism must inevitably lead to its defeat by the "stronger" socialism and eventually through further social transformations to a classless society.

"Dialectical materialism is the world outlook of the Marxist-Leninist party. It is called dialectical materialism because its approach to the phenomena of nature, its method of studying and apprehending them is dialectical, while its interpretation of the phenomena of nature, its conception of the phenomena, its theory, is materialistic the dialectical method regards as important primarily ... only that which is arising and developing

but the process of development from the lower to the higher takes place not as a harmonious unfolding of phenomena but as a disclosure of contradictions inherent in things and phenomena, as a 'struggle' of opposite tendencies which operate on the basis of these contradictions... if the passing of slow quantitative changes into rapid and abrupt qualitative changes is a law of development, then it is clear that revolutions made by the oppressed classes are a quite natural and inevitable phenomenon. Hence the transition from capitalism to Socialism and the liberation of the working class from the yoke of capitalism cannot be effected by slow changes but only by a qualitative change of the capitalist system, by revolution."

-- Stalin - "Dialectical and Historic Materialism" (1938)

b. Dictatorship of the proletariat

According to communist theory, there must inevitably arise during the transition period between capitalism and eventual classless society a stage of society in communist countries which is termed the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is carried out in the USSR today by the Communist Party, representing itself as expressing the will of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the Communist Party (i.e., of the proletariat) is according to doctrinaire apologia a necessary but temporary state of power in which all individual liberties are suppressed so that all bourgeois tendencies may be eradicated by whatever measures necessary. This state of absolute dictatorship must continue, again according to its apologists, until not only all bourgeois tendencies have been eradicated but until "capitalist encirclement" has been finally defeated.

"Marxism-Leninism teaches that the violent overthrow of the domination of the exploiting classes and establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a general law of the Socialist Revolution."

-- Bolshevik, "The Marxist Theory of Class and Class Struggle," No. 14, July, 1948, an official publication

"Between capitalist and Communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

-- Karl Marx, "Critique of Gotha 'Programme'"

c. The One Party System

The Communist Party holds that during the dictatorship of the proletariat only one party can exist and that since it, the Communist Party, represents the will of the proletariat it is the obvious party to hold power. It holds further that political parties represent only different classes and since in a communist country there can be only one class (i.e., the proletariat), there need be but one party. When capitalism has been defeated the need for even this one party will disappear.

"Lenin's new contribution to this theory [Marx and Engels' theory that the Party was the vanguard of the proletariat] ... showed: (a) that the Party is a higher form of class organization of the proletariat as compared with the other forms of proletarian organizations (labor unions, etc.) and ... its function was to generalize and direct the work of these organizations; (b) that the dictatorship of the proletariat may be realized only through the Party as its directing force; (c) that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be complete only if it is led by a single party, the Communist Party, which does not and must not share leadership with any other party; (d) and that without iron discipline in the Party the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat to crush the exploiters and to transform class society into socialist society cannot be fulfilled."

-- Stalin - "Interviews with American Labor Delegation," (November 5, 1927), Leninism (Cooperative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers, 1934), vol. I, p. 363. (Stalin's statement to US labor delegations upholding the Bolshevik viewpoint on the one-party system in the USSR and its place in the dictatorship of the proletariat.)

"Every political party is the organized vanguard of a class, and hence there can be several parties only when there are several social classes. A multi-party system can prevail only in a society where there are antagonistic classes with irreconcilably opposed interests, such as capitalists and workers, landlords and peasants, wealthy farmers and the village poor, and so on. In the USSR such class differences have been eradicated with the elimination of all exploitation of men and only two classes remain, the workers and peasants, whose interests do not clash but, on the contrary, are identical."

-- Moscow News - "Real Test of Democracy" - Brandenburgsky, January 9, 1947. (Discussion of criticism of Soviet one-party system - restates usual line as to why only one party can exist in a Soviet state.)

d. Planned economy

The economy of Soviet Russia is a fully planned one. Extending far beyond just price and wage controls, rationed goods and government ownership of utilities, there is government ownership of all means of production as well as of transportation and direct collectivization of agriculture.

"The Party directs the entire country, guides the activity of industry, agriculture and transport throughout Soviet and economic organizations, works out plans for the development of all branches of the national economy and controls their fulfillment, i.e., does everything that a proletarian party in power should do."

-- Komsomol Rabotnik ("Young Communist Worker"), an official publication, No. 11-12, 1946.

e. State ownership of means of production

As above, the Communist Party not only controls but owns all means of production which include natural resources as well as fabricating plants, etc.

"One of the outstanding features of socialist democracy consists of the fact that it not only proclaims the rights of the citizens but actually guarantees the exercise of these rights by placing them on a firm economic foundation ... The economic foundation of Socialist democracy is the Socialist ownership of the means and instruments of production which guarantees the rights of the Soviet people, their material well-being and cultural development. The Soviet state guarantees to the people real liberty."

-- Academician Trainin - Soviet Democracy (Pamphlet of Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1939)

"The anatomy of the Communist society may be described as follows: it is a society in which (a) there will be no private ownership of the means of production but social collective ownership ..."

-- Stalin, Interviews with American Labor Delegation (1937)

f. Collectivization of farmlands

Farmlands, according to communist theory and practice, belong not to individuals but to the public. Therefore, the direction and management of them and the distribution of their produce rests with the State, even though in some cases private ownership of the actual farms may be permitted.

"The Party can no longer confine itself to individual acts of inter-

vention in the process of agricultural development. It must now take over the direction of the collective farms, assume responsibility for the work, and help the collective farmers to conduct their husbandry on the basis of science and technology ... It follows from this that the collective farm system does not diminish but increases the cares and responsibilities of the Party and of the government in regard to the development of agriculture. It follows from this that if the Party desires to direct the collective farm movement, it must enter into all the details of collective farm life and collective farm management."

-- Stalin, "Work in the Rural Districts" (1933)

g. Abolition of private property

Communism stands for the abolition of private ownership of all means of production. Taken in the broad sense, as interpreted in the Soviet Union, this means the virtual abolition of private ownership of everything except personal effects.

"The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally but the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products that is based on class antagonisms, on the exploitation of the many by the few.

"In this sense, the theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property."

-- Marx and Engels, Communist Manifesto (1848)

"... in the most advanced countries, the following will be pretty generally applicable: ... (3) Abolition of all right of inheritance."

-- Ibid.

h. Soviet nationalism

Within the Soviet Union, there has been a tremendous resurgence of nationalistic feeling. This chauvinism is fostered by propaganda in all its forms. The public is not only told that the Soviet Union is the greatest power on earth but is also kept in a state of nationalist fervor by repeated charges of its being threatened by "capitalist encirclement" and "Wall Street imperialism." Nationalism is also taught in the schools, fostered in the church, and in all organization meetings, etc. Outside of the Soviet Union and its immediate satellites Stalinism preaches to the hard core of the communist cells in other countries that love for the Soviet is the

highest form of patriotism for communists everywhere. The reasoning is that inasmuch as the USSR is not only the mother of communism but also the sole agency through which other nations can achieve communism, and inasmuch as the creation of the greatest state is the greatest pleasure which can befall any country, then communists everywhere must have an allegiance for Russia even before their own countries to be truly patriotic. It should be emphasized that this Soviet nationalism is used only with the hard core communists and is generally played down in communist propaganda in non-communist countries.

"... Communist morality demands: supremo love of country permeated with a consciousness and feeling of Soviet national pride; bravery and valour in its defense, fearlessness in battle, mercilessness toward enemies of the country and people; devotion to the interests of socialism and the socialist country up to and including self-sacrifice; loyalty to the interests of the state, demanding the strictest guarding of state secrets and vigilance toward all machinations of enemies of our country; truthfulness in relation to the state, condemning all attempts to deceive the state by bearing false witness, etc., treating socialist public property with care, observing discipline toward labor and state."

-- Bolshevik, No. 9, May 15, 1948, an official publication

"... Great Power chauvinism is growing in our country daily and hourly - Great Power chauvinism, the rankest kind of nationalism, which strives to obliterate all that is not Russian, to gather together all the threads of administration into the hands of Russians and to crush everything that is not Russian."

-- Stalin (1923)

"Love of the Socialist motherland is indissolubly linked with the fostering of irreconcilable hatred for enemies of our motherland and for the imperialists and reactionaries throughout the world. Hatred for the enemies of the land of Socialism is an inseparable feature of the socialist ideology of Leninism."

-- Komsomolskaya Pravda ("Young Communist Truth") (1947),
an official publication

1. Opposition to religion

The USSR, since World War II, has recognized a limited right of religious belief and church attendance. However, it denies the right of religious belief to Communist Party members as being antithetical to true Marxism and religion is still attacked by propaganda in schools, publications, and official gatherings. Furthermore, in the USSR and some of its satellites

the Russian Orthodox Church has been usurped by the State as an organ of propaganda and is under the direct supervision of the MVD.

"Dialectical materialism the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism and the theoretical foundation of the Communist Party, is incompatible with religion ... The world outlook of the Party is based on scientific data, whereas religion contradicts science. As the Party bases its activity on scientific foundation, it is bound to oppose religion."

-- Molodoi Bolshevik ("Young Bolshevik"), 1946, an official publication

"The Party cannot be neutral towards religion and it does conduct anti-religious propaganda against all and every religious prejudice because it stands for science, while religious prejudice runs counter to science, because all religion is something opposite to science..."

-- Stalin (1927)

"Religion should be declared a private affair - these are the words in which the attitude of Socialists to religion is customarily expressed ... We demand that religion should be a private affair as far as the state is concerned, but under no circumstances can we regard religion as a private affair as far as our own Party is concerned."

-- Lenin, "Socialism and Religion" (1905)

j. Party controlled trade unions

Free trade unionism does not exist in communist countries. The unions are under the open and direct control of the Communist Party and serve only as a means of party organization, propaganda, and control. There is no collective bargaining, no right to strike, no right to resign or change jobs, no right of selection of jobs, no right to belong to any union but one designated by the Party. The USSR also employs forced labor, with an estimated ten to fifteen million people serving as virtual slaves in the "corrective" labor camps operated under the jurisdiction of the MVD.

"Formally, the Soviet trade-unions are not a Party organization but in fact, they are carrying out the directives of the Party. All leading organs of the trade-unions consist primarily of Communists who execute the Party line in the entire work of the trade unions."

-- Sovetskoye Gosudarstvennoye Pravo ("Soviet Public Law"), a treatise, A. I. Denisov (1940)

k. Ideological education and culture

The primary functions of education in the Soviet Union are to instill communist political ideology and to teach practical crafts and soldiery. Furthermore, since 1940 the Russian worker must pay for his child's education beyond the seventh grade with the result that only a very small number of children get more than the most elementary of educations. Great emphasis is placed in communist countries on culture in its various forms, but all culture to be acceptable must express the communist ideology. All education, all theaters, publishing houses, newspapers, magazines, film studios, etc., are under the direct supervision and control of the Communist Party, i.e., the State.

"The object of the entire ideological work is to instill in the youth the spirit of fidelity to the idea of communism, unselfish devotion to the Soviet fatherland and readiness to strengthen its military-economic might by every means, and to defend its freedom and independence."

-- Bolshevik, "Communist Education," No. 23-24, December, 1946 - an official publication

"In our Soviet society, where the state directs the growth of all branches of culture, where publishing houses, newspapers, magazines, theaters, film studios, scientific institutions are not private enterprises, but are dedicated to the service of all the people, an apolitical lack of principle both in art and science is intolerable ..."

-- Molodoi Bolshevik ("Young Bolshevik"), 1946 - an official publication

"The school, apart from life, apart from politics, is a lie and a hypocrisy."

-- Lenin

l. Subordination of individual to state

Under the dictatorship of the proletariat there is a complete denial of civil liberties and individual rights. The State does not exist to serve his needs but he to serve the needs of the State. The Russian citizen is subject to arbitrary detention and arrest, imprisonment without trial by a court; he is not entitled to voice any criticism of the government nor to voice any opinions other than those approved by the Communist Party; he has no rights to emigrate temporarily or permanently; he has access only to

that information which is approved by the Communist Party, and his right of vote under the one-party system is nothing but a formality.

"The Soviet state determines the behavior and activity of Soviet citizens in various ways. It educates the Soviet people in a spirit of Communist morality by the system which it introduces of legal norms regulating the life of the population, imposing interdictions, establishing encouragements, warnings of punishment for the violation of these norms. The Soviet state stands guard over these legal norms with all its power. The conduct and activity of the Soviet people is also determined by the force of public opinion which is created by the activity of numerous public organizations. In creating public opinion the decisive role is played by the Party and the Soviet state which through various media, first of all through ideological work, formulates public opinion and educates the workers in a spirit of socialist awareness."

-- Bolshevik, No. 4, 1947, an official publication

"Marxism-Leninism does not recognize the existence of a conflict between the individual and society. Communists consider that the development of personality and of harmony between private and public interests are only possible on the basis of the leading role of the public interest."

-- Uchitelskaya Gazeta ("Teacher's Gazette"), 1946, an official publication

m. Elimination of capitalism

The total elimination of capitalism throughout the world is an inherent feature of Stalinist communism, although temporizing statements have been made on this subject by Party leaders for strategic or tactical purposes, i.e., during World War II when Stalin proclaimed that it was possible for the two societies to live peacefully side by side. However, all basic communist ideology declares capitalism to be the mortal enemy of communism and that it must be defeated throughout the world by any means before the true communist state can be developed.

"The object of the party is to exploit all and any conflicting interests among the surrounding capitalist groups and governments with the view to the disintegration of capitalism."

-- Stalin (1921)

"Marxism-Leninism teaches that the violent overthrow of the domination of the exploiting classes and establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a general law of the Socialist Revolution."

Only the working class, guided by a Marxist-Leninist Party, is capable of leading and carrying through to the finish the class struggle against the exploiters ... The recognition of the necessity of carrying through the class struggle to the dictatorship of the proletariat is the cornerstone of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the transformation of capitalist society into Socialist society. Marxism-Leninism is incompatible with the opportunistic ideas to the effect that the transition from capitalism to Socialism can be carried out peacefully on the basis of parliamentary voting ... Democratic institutions in the capitalist countries are only a screen for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. No elections and no parliament can tear power from the bourgeoisie and liquidate the domination of capital. The Right Socialists who say that capitalist slavery can be eliminated in parliamentary fashion merely protect the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie from its violent overthrow by the proletariat."

-- Bolshevik, P. Fedoseev, No. 14, July 1948, an official publication

"... The conquest of power by the proletariat is the violent overthrow of bourgeoisie power, the destruction of the capitalist state apparatus (bourgeoisie armies, police, bureaucratic hierarchy, the judiciary, parliaments, etc.) and the substitution in its place of new organs of proletarian power to serve primarily as instruments for the suppression of the exploiters."

-- Program of the Communist International (1928)

"Developing an irreconcilable struggle against Social Democracy, which represents the agency of capitalism within the working class, and smashing to atoms each and every deviation from Leninism, which brings grist to the mill of Social Democracy, the Communist Parties have shown they are on the right track. It is essential that they should finally settle on that track..."

-- Stalin (1930)

"As long as capitalism and socialism exist, we cannot live in peace: in the end, one or the other will triumph - a funeral dirge will be sung over the Soviet Republic or over world capitalism."

-- Lenin (1920)

n. Qualified self-determination of nations

Soviet propaganda has proclaimed the right of self-determination of all nations and makes particular issue of this point in the Far East. However, in practice the Communist Party upholds the right of self-determination only as the right to become a communist nation in the orbit of the USSR.

"There are instances when the right to self-determination comes into conflict with another, higher right - the right of the working class which attained power to fortify its power. In such cases, it must be stated frankly, the right of self-determination cannot be and must not serve as an obstacle to the realization of the right of the working class to its own dictatorship. The first must recede before the second."

-- Stalin (1923)

"We are in favor of the separation of India, Arabia, Egypt, Morocco, and the other colonies from the Entente, for here separation implies the liberation of these oppressed countries from imperialism, thus undermining the position of imperialism and strengthening the position of the revolution. We are against the separation of the border regions from Russia, since separation here would involve imperialist servitude for the border regions thus undermining the revolutionary power of Russia and strengthening the position of imperialism."

-- Stalin (1920)

o. War as an instrument of communist policy

Although communism preaches peace and declares itself the defender of peace, the right of "defensive warfare" by communist countries is maintained and broad meaning is given to the term "defensive." In essence, this comes down to the fact that any warfare against capitalist countries or which promotes the world spread of communism is honorable. Militarism is a dominant feature of all communist countries.

"If war is waged by the exploiting class with the object of strengthening its class rule, such a war is a criminal war and 'defensism' in such a war is a base betrayal of socialism. If war is waged by the proletariat after it has conquered the bourgeoisie in its own country and is waged with the object of strengthening and extending socialism such a war is legitimate and 'holy.'"

-- Lenin (1918)

"We are not pacifists. We are opposed to imperialist wars for the division of spoils among the capitalists, but we have always declared it to be absurd for the revolutionary proletariat to renounce revolutionary wars that may prove necessary in the interests of socialism."

-- Lenin (1917)

"We do not intend to abandon the war theme ... We must write of war so that the generation of young people which comes after us

can love arms and be ready for struggles and victories."

-- Literaturnaya Gazeta ("Literary Gazette"), December 29, 1946

2. Some basic promises of communism when it has attained full, worldwide victory

a. World system of communism

Communism, from the time of Marx and Engels, preaches the inevitability of its victory throughout the world. This is held forth as a promise to its followers and a threat to the non-followers.

"The ultimate aim of the Communist International is to replace world capitalist economy by a world system of communism. Communist society, the basis for which has been prepared by the whole course of historical development, is mankind's only way out, for it alone can abolish the contradictions of the capitalist system which threaten to degrade and destroy the human race."

-- Communist International Programme (1928)

b. Abolition of government

In the Utopian world promised by communist ideology a time will be reached in the world of tomorrow when government will cease to exist. In the all-communist future State, says this theory, the people will be so aware of their duties and obligations that they will constitute a form of self-government with no State machinery necessary to watch over the welfare of all. In a sense, each man will then be his brother's keeper.

"It is precisely at the present time that we can say that we really possess an organization of government which clearly indicates the transition to the complete abolition of government, of the state. This will be possible when every trace of exploitation has been abolished, i.e., in socialist society."

-- Lenin (1918)

"We set ourselves the ultimate aim of abolishing the state, i.e., all organized and systematic violence, all use of violence against man in general. We do not expect the advent of an order of society in which the principle of the subordination of the minority by the majority will not be observed. But in striving for socialism we are convinced that it will develop into Communism and hence the need for violence against people in general, the need for subjugation of one man to another, and of one section of the population to another, will vanish, since people will be accustomed to observing the elementary conditions of social life without force and without subordination."

-- Ibid (1917)

"So long as the proletariat still uses the state, it does not use it in the interests of freedom but in order to hold down its adversaries. and as soon as it becomes possible to speak of freedom, the state, as such, ceases to exist."

-- Engels, "Letter to Bebel" (1875)

"The most important function of dictatorship of the working class is defense of socialist conquests against attacks from the outside. As long as we live in a capitalist encirclement, so long there exists the danger of armed attack from outside. Even when we attain full Communism, if capitalist encirclement has not been eliminated the state must be retained amongst us, and consequently the dictatorship of the working class will be retained and the guiding role of the Party in this dictatorship. But the state and dictatorship will wither away under Communism if capitalist encirclement is liquidated."

-- Komsomolskaya Pravda ("Young Communist Truth"), an official publication, September 28, 1946

"Only the Communist society, when the resistance of the capitalists has been completely broken, when the capitalists have disappeared, when there are no classes (i.e., when there is no difference between the members of society as regards their relation to the social means of production), only then does 'the state ... cease to exist,' and it 'becomes possible to speak of freedom.' Only then will really complete democracy without any exceptions be possible and be realized. And only then will democracy itself begin to wither away owing to the simple fact that freed from ... the infamies of capitalist exploitation, people will gradually become accustomed to observing the elementary rules of social life ... without the special apparatus for compulsion which is called the state."

-- Lenin (1917)

c. Abolition of classes

In the communist system of tomorrow there will be no classes. All goods and means of production will be owned by the people in common and there will be no differentiation between peasant and worker. There will be no landholders, no wealthy, no poor - everyone will be a worker.

"Socialism means the abolition of classes. In order to abolish classes one must, firstly, overthrow the landlords and capitalist. That part of our task has been accomplished, but it is only a part, and moreover, not the most difficult part. In order to abolish classes one must, secondly, abolish the difference between working-man and peasant, one must make them all workers. This cannot be done all at once ... This task cannot be accomplished by overthrowing a class. It can be solved only by the organizational reconstruction of the whole social economy, by a transition from individual

disunited, petty commodity production to a large scale social enterprise ..."

-- Lenin, "Economics and Power" (1919)

"By equality, Marxism means, not equalization of individual requirements and individual life, but the abolition of classes, i.e., (a) the equal emancipation of all toilers from exploitation after the capitalists have been overthrown and expropriated; (b) the equal abolition of all private property in the means of production after they have been transformed into the property of the whole of society; (c) the equal duty of all to work according to their ability and the equal right of all working people to receive remuneration according to their requirements (Communist society)."

-- Stalin (1934)

B. THE APPEAL OF COMMUNISM

Two quotations from the recent book, I Believed, the autobiography of Douglas Hyde, a Communist turned Catholic, bring into sharp focus why communism has been able to exert such a strong appeal to so many diverse groups in so many lands:

"The Communist theoreticians have been careful to avoid describing, except in the most general terms, what life under communism would be like. They have said that it would be a 'classless society'; there would be an end of exploitation and none would live on rent, profit, or interest. But that is not a way of life; it is little more than a collection of slogans ... The fact that communism is little more than a word, a name to which almost any meaning can be given, a mold into which each individual Communist may pour his own content is of tremendous advantage. It meant that it became in a very real way my own personal ideal."

and later is found:

"... There lies the strength of communism. It is in its ability to take hatred, desire for retribution by those who have been ill used, youthful idealism, and the desire for a cleaner world, and then to harness all these powerful horses to its chariot."

For the purpose of these notes, an attempt will be made to separate the appeal of communism into two different categories, i.e., the idealistic and the pragmatic, and furthermore to note which of the appeals actually have some basis of truth in the practices of communism as differentiated from the promises of communism.

1. The idealistic appeal of communism

- a. The opportunity for self-sacrifice to create a better world tomorrow, for future generations. Communist ideology, with its promise of the classless, peaceful world of tomorrow - where every man is well fed and his neighbor's helper - makes it possible for the ardent communist to convince himself that his devotion to the Party, no matter what personal sacrifices may be involved, is a holy mission.
- b. The sense of purpose and fulfillment given by an ideology which has a task and responsibility for every man in accordance with his talents. Thus a man who may feel that he is contributing nothing to life, when once imbued with communist propaganda gains a feeling that he is actively contributing to the betterment of mankind in his Party work. (This appeal is carried out in practice by communist cells

where there is always a job for every member and every job is made to appear important.)

- c. The belief that in communism lies the future peace of mankind. Communism, with its rosy picture of the future world, where there will be only one great communist State, offers to many a tangible hope for world peace.
 - d. The promise of a true brotherhood of man, in which there will be no distinctions because of race, creed, or color. To the humanitarian as well as to members of minority groups, this appeal carries great weight, particularly as the democratic countries too often seem to make little or no progress on the problem. (Communist organizations outside of communist-controlled countries zealously practice this policy, although there have been more and more instances of minority persecution within the Soviet and its controlled lands.)
 - e. The acceptance of the communist ideology gives a faith to those who have felt the want of something positive in which to believe. This is particularly noticeable in cases of people who have a deep latent religious sense or who are former Roman Catholics or Orthodox Jews in whom religious faith was early instilled but later dropped. Communism, with its ideology, its idealistic promises, its demand for complete devotion, often supplants the church for such people.
 - f. The emphasis by communism on the fulfillment and appreciation of man's cultural ambitions attracts the intellectual and the artistic. The unsuccessful artist or the intellectual who feels that he is hampered in giving "free expression," finds promise for attaining artistic fulfillment in a communist world where the artist and the writer appear to be set aside for respect and special privilege and where artistic endeavors appear to be encouraged to the maximum. (In practice, in communist countries art and culture serve three main functions: (1) they are used as well-controlled outlets for intellectual or emotional fervor; (2) they are used as effective media for propaganda; (3) they are used to channel thought into proper ideological patterns.)
 - g. The promise of true internationalism. In the theoretical communist world of tomorrow, all nations will have merged into one happy, stateless commune. To some people disillusioned in other attempts to create "one world," communism seems to offer a real opportunity for achieving their dream.
2. The pragmatic appeal of communism
- a. One of the greatest attractions held forth by communism,

particularly in the Far East and colonial areas, is the promise of nationalism and self-determination to all people. The USSR, according to its propaganda, stands ready to support any people seeking their independence and lends military guidance and material assistance to nations seeking such "independence." (In practice, as is known all too well, any independence or self-determination gained through communist support is only freedom to be a Soviet satellite.)

- b. Economic betterment - whether on an individual or group basis, the Communist Party identifies itself with claims for economic betterment achieved in non-communist countries whether these claims are justified or not. (The Communist Party, in practice, has achieved some economic gains for various groups in non-communist countries through parliamentary and other pressures. It promises, of course, much more than could be given by any government in power.)
- c. Social equality for all, promised by communism, has particular appeal to those who feel themselves treated as inferiors. (In many areas, the Communist Party practices social equality within its ranks in non-communist countries, although gradations of authority are stringently enforced.)
- d. The honest administration of the daily functions of government is promised by communism, and has strong appeal in such countries as Italy and China, where corruption has long been widespread. (In practice, communist-dominated movements in the Philippines, Indo-china, and certain other areas are honestly administered though scandals involving such matters as the misappropriation of Party funds are known to be increasingly common inside the iron curtain.) The communist claim of "incorruptibility" in government must also, of course, be viewed against the Soviet record of the corruption and debasement of the truth and the attempted corruption of the freedom of all individuals.
- e. The dynamism of communism, with its emphasis on constant activity and "progress," attracts the young and those dissatisfied with the seeming "do-nothingness" of other political beliefs. No issue is too large or too small for the Communist Party to take hold of and to attack or advance in accordance with the policies dictated by the Cominform, and, of course, not being in power in non-communist countries, it is possible for the Party to promise that were it in power it would take action on any issue. (The Communist Party does practice dynamism everywhere in its group activities, its inspired strikes, riotings, rallies, etc.)

- f. The heralded inevitability of its victory makes its strongest appeal to the band-wagon jumpers and to the people of such countries as Italy, France, and Germany who feel themselves to be on the firing line without confidence in their own strength. It also has real appeal for the political opportunist in any country. (Recent events in the Far East have, of course, strengthened this appeal in practice.)
- g. The discipline of the Communist Party finds favor with those who like regimentation as well as appealing to the zealot. The Communist Party within its ranks issues directives and orders as if they were battlefield commands. They cannot be questioned and must be carried out. (Discipline is rigidly practiced as noted by communists in carrying out the Party's work, although in varying degrees tolerance is extended to the Party worker's private life so long as it in no way touches upon the work of the Party.)
- h. The interest in the common man, the individual, shown by the Communist Party organizers and with the Party ranks, is well repaid in the members gained and held because of this policy. Party organizers are trained to aid and give comfort to the ill and distressed, to seek out the problems of the individuals within their area, to make everyone realize that the Communist Party, at least, is interested in his or her welfare. (In operation, this practice is not too dissimilar from such political tactics as were practiced so successfully by Tammany Hall in New York and by Marcanantonio today. In communist countries, however, the individual becomes submerged almost completely.)
- i. From its interest in mass mankind, the oppressed and the poor find hope for themselves in the promises of communism. The Communist Party claims itself to be the friend of the underprivileged and the oppressed and their staunch defender. (In practice, they are used only as tools for the implementation of Communist Party strategy.)
- j. To the lonely and the uncertain the Communist Party gives a sense of belonging; it is a close-knit, highly personalized organization and many find satisfaction in the camaraderie that exists within its ranks. Its members are on a first-name basis with each other; there are many social activities and a member is never permitted to become lonely. (This sense of belonging is fostered in practice by using every "persecution" of the communists to strengthen it - "we stand together in the face of a hostile world.")
- k. The opportunities for political betterment by playing ball with the communists has been recognized by politicians in

many lands. Thus the splinter party political leader may find that by joining forces with the communists he can gain power. (In practice, the Communist Party has a highly organized, well financed, and smoothly run political organization which has been able to give political office to many in non-communist countries who could have never gained office otherwise. However, its promise of continuing political advancement when the country has been taken over by the communists is rarely carried out. Then the officeholders find themselves quickly purged to provide places for Moscow-trained ideologically "pure" personnel.)

- l. The seeming singleness of purpose, the one program which communism offers in various lands is in strong contrast to the seeming confusion of aims and programs offered by the democratic nations and hence appears more practical and realizable to many. This is particularly true in those areas where such terms as "dignity of the individual," "civil liberties," and "democracy" have little or no meaning but where an economic betterment or promised nationalism offered by the communists seems vivid and real. (In practice, there is but one program for the Communist Party - world domination by the USSR. This, of course, is nowhere the preached program.)
- m. The accomplishments of communism - both militarily and politically - whether actual or claimed, carry special weight with the people of those countries which are geographically near the Soviet and with countries such as those in the Far East where economic conditions and nationalist feeling make them particularly susceptible to Communist Party propaganda. The communists made much capital of the resistance put up by the communist-claimed Maquis in France and Partizani in Italy and now, of course, with the northern Koreans and Chinese in the Far East. In like manner, they make capital of Soviet political maneuvers in the United Nations and elsewhere. (The Communist Party preaches success and accomplishment in every field even though these may not be borne out in practice.)
- n. To the bitter and resentful of the world, communism offers a chance to pour out their hatred in a "worthy cause" - thus justifying it - and to seek retribution when the victory of communism has been won. This policy is not unlike that of the Jewish terrorism waged by the Nazis. But here the communists foster hatred against the landed, the rich, the whites, the Europeans, etc., to gain their own ends. (In practice, this has been seen in many lands - in the persecution in the satellite countries, in the atrocities committed by the Maquis in France and the Partizani in Italy.)

- o. To the young and adventurous, communism promises adventure, action, color, and a chance to do battle, all in the name of a "good cause." (In practice, adventure, action, color, and battle are found by the communists in undercover activities, strikes, and riotings, militant organization, secrecy, actual warfare in "volunteer" battalions such as in Spain and partisan warfare.)
- p. The veneration of a superman, which always plays a role in building up mass support of a dictatorship, finds communism presenting such figures as Stalin, Mao, Togliatti, and Thorez. These men are aggravated in the press, by posters, and all other means of propaganda in their respective areas. (In practice, the "veneration of a superman" is frequently played down until communist control is secured, emphasis until then being placed on such national heroes and almost legendary figures of communist ideology as Marx, Engels, and Lenin.)

A. SOME NOTES ON KEY POINTS NOW AT ISSUE IN THE IDEOLOGICAL WAR BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND COMMUNISM

1. Dignity of individual vs. primacy of state. This is the fundamental practical and philosophical difference between communism and the free world. In the free world the rights of the individual are inherent. In the communist-controlled countries any individual rights are given only under the tolerance of the State and are subject to revocation at any time for any reason. The communists hold that any individual must be subordinated to the will of the State. "Freedom," wrote Hegel (after Spinoza), "is the recognition of necessity." Marxism, through dialectical materialism, has established the norms of "necessity" to which all communists must conform. Using a combination of persuasion and force, the communists have attempted to destroy the independent will of the individual and put in its place a will obedient to the State. Conformity is a necessary virtue. State-sponsored group activities replace individual activities. The "complete" communist is therefore one who has totally submerged himself in the pervasive, all-embracing will of the State. Democracy, on the other hand, is a form of society erected on the assumption that each person is inviolate: men have freely entered into a compact to permit government, which is the creature and not master of these individuals. Every form of activity - economic, moral, spiritual, social, cultural, political - is a by-product of this voluntary association of free men. Progress in a free society comes from the vigorous leadership of free-minded individuals who have the voluntary support of their fellowmen.
2. Self-determination vs. imperialism. Despite the efforts of Lenin and the Soviets to associate "imperialism" solely with non-communist societies, it is a word which aptly describes the intent and actions of Russia to spread its form of government by force. Marxists may claim that government will ultimately "die out" when the working classes of the world, united, control the earth, but they concede that force is necessary to seize this power. This force, the use of which is sometimes tempered by political or military expediency and by a cherished theory that capitalism has within itself the seeds of its own downfall, is now evident in Russian-controlled areas and in Korea, Tibet, and Indo-china. The record of Russia in satellite countries has been that of an imperialistic conqueror, imposing a political, economic, and social system on these lands and systematically undermining the ability and will of the citizens to resist. The democracies, on the other hand, are committed to the principle that any people must be able freely to select their own government, subject only to the condition that they do not impose their will on others by force. In some areas, the free nations regard self-determination as

a stage which cannot be reached at once; despite such gradualism, however, the objectives of the democracies can clearly be recognized.

3. Idealism vs. materialism. The communists, after Engels, have openly proclaimed the primacy of nature to the spirit, defining this as materialism. There is no life after death, and a man's mind and way of life are entirely determined by verifiable material forces - particularly economic forces. For Marxians, "the ideal is nothing but the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought" (J.B.S. Haldane). The free nations, on the other hand, believe that the spirit preceded the material world, that ideas are superior to and independent of material things, and that man's mind and will are free. They concede that material forces shape and mold an individual, but insist that modern society rests on the assumption that mind is superior to matter, and the spirit superior to forces of nature.
4. Government by will of the people vs. government by force. Communism rules by terror and strict Party discipline when less forceful persuasion does not compel submission. At the worst, this is actual slavery. Democratic governments fall or retain power by the free votes of the electorate; policies are formed and carried out through open discussion and voting of elected representatives of the people.
5. Right of belief vs. elimination of all religion. The communists deny the validity of after-life and any force except material forces. A belief in any God is a definite sin against the material ideology which must hold all the attention of any person. Therefore, the communists must somehow expunge God from the mind or heart or consciousness of the people and guard against the return of any idealistic religious belief. (For the non-communist masses, the Soviet has accepted a tactical diversion from its early rigid anti-Church doctrines. In many areas, the masses are now allowed to attend services of the Russian Orthodox Church. The Church, however, has been put under the custody of the MVD; its seminaries teach propaganda techniques and minimize all but external trappings of the old religion. Thus the Church is used to channel emotional and spiritual forces still cherished by the masses toward full allegiance to government and country. This "concession," first generally made during World War II, is an expedient only, and in no sense an indication that communism has changed its basic antagonism toward any form of religion). The free world, which has no need to impose orthodoxy or mass obedience, upholds the right of any belief, including agnosticism and atheism.
6. Morality vs. amorality. The subordination of personal

ethics to the will of the State in Russia is in sharp contrast to the emphasis on personal moral and ethical responsibility which characterize the democratic society. This amorality is furthered in Russia by antagonism to the Church, the use of education solely to serve an ideology, and the concept of the family as merely a convenient unit for breeding and State control. In democracies, church, education, and the family serve not only to give spiritual comfort and inspiration, training, culture, and guidance, and domestic happiness, but also to instill moral responsibility in the individual.

7. Free expression vs. controlled expression. All forms of expression - art, music, radio, the printed word - are rigidly controlled by communists and subject to the same degree of discipline as that imposed on political activities. Free nations, even in periods of national emergency, permit frank and free expression of ideas and - compared to the Soviet - define treason and disloyalty broadly.
8. Free thought vs. controlled thought. Not only does Russia repress all freedom of expression (a negative process), but it also attempts systematically to control the actual thought-pattern of its people (an affirmative process). Thus the educational and propaganda media within the iron curtain do not stop after exorcising the daemon of capitalism; they also work toward robot-like thought control so that the perfect communist will have no occasion for disloyal thought. In the free world the right to think and reason for one's self is a fundamental right and a chief source of strength to democracy because of the self-reliance and integrity which are thus permitted each citizen.
9. Truth vs. lies. Communism deliberately distorts truth in describing itself or others. It has carried to a fine point the use of the "big lie." Treaties and agreements are "scraps of paper" or words to be broken. Personal vilification by Soviet diplomats to serve their purposes is routine. The Soviet and the Communist Party will preach one thing and practice another. Against this, the free nations (however much in dispute among themselves) base their dealings and their contracts on sincere intent. Their information policies, although sometimes misguided, are also based on a premise of freedom of expression and the truth.
10. Education vs. political ideology. Education in the free world has as its functions to instill factual knowledge so that the world may be better understood and its problems more ably dealt with, to give the knowledge necessary to enable an individual to work in a trade of his choosing and to better himself in the world, to arouse intellectual curiosity, to spur independent thought, and to gain a deeper appreciation of life and his fellow man. In the Soviet,

education is basically a euphemism for indoctrination in political ideology. Even the "three R's" are taught with this thought foremost. Independent thought is not wanted, controlled thought is the objective. People are not educated to better serve themselves and mankind, but to better carry out unthinkingly the directives of the Communist Party.

11. Right of association vs. dictated association. The citizen of the USSR and its satellites has little or no choice in the organization to which he may belong. He can join only such organizations as are approved by the government (i.e., the Communist Party). Any attempt to form an independent organization or to join one not approved by the Communist Party would lead to quick imprisonment and possible death. The free nations offer the individual the right of formation of and association with various and differing educational, religious, economic, and political organizations without fear of direct or indirect control or of compulsion by government or other agencies. The only limiting factor to this is that such organizations must not be treasonable in nature.
12. Free elections vs. one-party system. The Soviets permit only one party, and in satellite areas gradually undermine even token opposition. The anti-communist nations are without exception committed to the free ballot.
13. Free trade unions vs. State-controlled labor. Lenin's contempt of free trade unions was summarized in a sentence: "The history of all countries shows that the working class, exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade union consciousness." Trade unions, to the Soviet, are simply convenient government-controlled organizations through which to regulate labor. The Russian laborer can join only the union predetermined for him - and he must join it. No trace of collective bargaining remains in Russia. Russian laborers cannot strike. They cannot change jobs. They cannot criticize management or the government. In the free nations, workers may choose their employment and union; may vote in union elections to select their own officials and decide policy; and may bargain collectively and strike.
14. Aid vs. plunder. The free nations have attempted to rebuild the shattered economies of war-torn lands or economically depressed areas. Materials, food, and technical aid have been offered to enable other countries to regain their own industrial or agricultural self-sufficiency. Conversely, the Soviet has a notorious record of plundering its satellite countries of machinery and goods to build up its own economy, and of setting up and enforcing such unilateral trade agreements as to further weaken the economies of the satellites. This has been seen clearly in Poland, Germany, Yugoslavia,

Estonia, Lithuania, Rumania, and Hungary. Where the Western powers have tried to help restore conquered Germany to a sound economy, Russia in Finland rendered no help whatsoever, but instead made heavy demands which may well ultimately ruin the economy of the nation.

15. Repopulation vs. depopulation. Russia frequently moves key personnel and both rural and urban labor from satellite areas to Russia itself, where they can be better controlled. In return, Russians are often sent into these countries to fill responsible jobs ("in the end, only Russians are truly reliable"). The free nations try to return refugees to their homes, or (as in the case of the Jews) enable them to reach the country of their choice.
16. International co-operation and collaboration vs. peacetime militant aggression. Russia's peacetime diplomacy is demonstrably single-minded, and in recent years devoted solely to the expansion of Russian influence and (conversely) the weakening of anti-communist nations. Co-operation with other nations - as in the U.N. - appears to be expediency only. The rest of the world, however divided in opinion, accepts as a common principle the ideal of co-operation to enhance peace and prevent war.
17. Peace vs. war. Communist "peace drives" and "peace pledges" confuse the terminology of this conflict of ideas. The Russians - in their expressed theory and on their record - are committed to an attempt to impose their will and form of government on the rest of the world by force. The democracies, though often in disagreement among themselves, share the principle of peace. This is, however, a principle which countenances the use of force when free nations are invaded.
18. Protected legal rights of the individual vs. secret and arbitrary arrest, trial, and punishment. Russia has long since abandoned even lip service to the traditional constitutional protections offered the individual by democracies - such as the right of habeas corpus or trial by jury, or safeguards against excessive bail or search without warrant. Despite publicized trials for important "enemies of the State," in which 'confessions' of the guilty are well aired, virtually all persons who are victims of the police state are seized and punished without any pretense of legal action. The democracies recognize the role of the courts and of justice in trial and punishment; the rights of the accused are protected by custom and law - usually through constitutions drawn up in past centuries and thus recognized as part of the heritage of each nation.
19. Class understanding vs. class hatred. The free nations, no matter what their class structure and the degree of inter-class friction, continue to strive for an improvement in the

relationships between the classes and to dissolve rather than build up inter-class feeling. The right of various social and economic groups to organize for their own protection and advancement is recognized so long as it does not serve to jeopardize the well-being of the majority. Stalinist communism teaches not only the criticism and ridicule of the bourgeoisie, but active hatred of all elements of society except the proletariat. The middle-class is openly scorned as a time-server for capitalism. In some areas - such as China - there has been occasional evidence of temporary tolerance for the bourgeoisie, but this is considered expediency and does not affect the hard core of Russian hatred for all those who oppose dictatorship of the proletariat.

20. Right of private property vs. abolition of private property. The free nations are pledged to the protection of the right of private ownership. Even in socialized countries, where nationalization of utilities and certain industries has taken place, the rights of private ownership have been recognized by just compensation paid by the State to the former shareholders. The right of inheritance, although heavily taxed, is recognized as is the ownership of land. In the Soviet, to the contrary, despite early pledges to small farmers, the Communist Party has taken over for the State virtually all farm land and urban property. There is no right of inheritance nor private ownership beyond personal effects.